1: Holmberg--65 [5] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 843

"One of the principal signs of pregnancy is the cessation of the menses. If a woman has never before been pregnant, however, some doubt may be expressed as to whether she is going to have a child until her breasts begin to swell.

Few other signs of pregnancy seem to be recognized. An extended abdomen is an unreliable sign; most of the Siriono women have distended stomachs from the habit of overeating when they can. Morning sickness also does not seem to be regarded as a pregnancy sign; at least, I was unable to get any recognition of it or observe any cases of it among the pregnant women whom I interviewed."

1: Holmberg--65-66 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 787, 843

"In some cases a woman may know that she is pregnant because she has dreamed it. One morning Eantándu told me that his wife was with child. [66] Since she showed no outward signs of her condition, I asked her how she knew that this was true. She replied that she was certain of it because the night before she had had a dream that she had a very small child inside of her. Upon interviewing her further, however, I found that this dream merely corroborated excellent physiological evidence for her pregnancy, namely, that she had not menstruated for some time."

1: Holmberg--66 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 843

"Once a woman is pregnant, the Siriono have no methods of divining the sex of the child or of forecasting the time of its delivery. When first conceived, the child is believed to be a miniature replica of the infant at the time it is born, and intercourse is thought to stimulate the growth of the infant in the mother's womb. Thus intercourse is desirable throughout pregnancy."

1: Holmberg--66 [2] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 825, 843

"Except for being subject to certain food taboos, the normal life of a woman is little upset during pregnancy. She goes about her regular work until shortly before the time of her delivery. She may not eat coati lest the infant be born with sores and a very long head. The guan, the howler monkey, the macaw, and the toucan are taboo on the grounds that if they are eaten the infant will cry a great deal when it is born. Likewise forbidden is the meat of the armadillo. A violation of this taboo will cause the infant to have great fear like the armadillo, which crosses its arms in its hole when it is caught. Other forbidden foods include the owl monkey, whose meat cannot be eaten lest the infant inherit its tendency not to sleep at night; the anteater, porcupine, and honey bear, lest the infant be born clubfooted; the jaguar, lest the infant be stillborn; turtle eggs, lest the mother have a miscarriage or be unable to deliver the infant and die; and the harpy eagle, because it is taboo for all people except the aged.

Some of these food taboos are generalized to the father, but not all of them. The only ones which he usually observes are the restrictions on eating harpy eagle, anteater, and howler monkey, which in a strict sense are not pregnancy taboos, since these animals are never supposed to be eaten by anyone but an old person. However, these food taboos seem to be more carefully observed by the men when their wives are pregnant."

1: Holmberg--66 [3] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 824, 843

"Both the pregnant woman and her husband are also careful not to eat a double ear of corn or a double root of manioc lest twins be born. They likewise avoid eating twisted or deformed plants of any kind lest this characteristic be transferred to their offspring in the form of clubfeet."

1: Holmberg--66 [4] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 825, 843

"A woman's diet during pregnancy, however, is not much reduced by the above-mentioned food taboos. She is allowed to eat all vegetable foods, fruits, and fish. In addition, she still has a wide selection among meat foods, of which the following are the principal ones: tortoise, turtle , curassow, duck, cormorant, spider monkey, capuchin monkey, squirrel, peccary, tapir, agouti, capybara, paca, alligator, hawk, vulture, and marsh deer. Such animals as the tapir and peccary are especially favored because they are regarded as valiant and industrious, and if their flesh is eaten one's children will grow up to be like them."

1: Holmberg--66 [5] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 765, 843

"Neither abortion nor infanticide is practiced, and miscarriages seem rarely to occur under aboriginal conditions. During my residence in Casarabe, however, where the Indians were living under rather brutal conditions of forced labor, three instances of miscarriage came to my attention. These were caused, according to my native informants, by the fact that the pregnant women were compelled to work beyond their endurance. Under aboriginal conditions, however, miscarriages are generally attributed to the breaking of food taboos, such as the eating of turtle or tortoise eggs. In the case of a miscarriage, the infant and all remains of the birth are thrown away into the bush without ceremony, but the mother and father must undergo a 3-day period of mourning, in which they are scarified on the legs and feathers are put in their hair."

1: Holmberg--66 [6] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 825, 843

"To prevent the occurrence of miscarriage a woman must be careful not to eat the flesh of an animal to which some parallel experience has happened. One day Ndekai, one of my male informants, had several tortoises hanging by lianas from a beam in the house. Early in the morning of the following day it was found that one of these tortoises had 'dropped' her eggs on the floor during the night, and that they were broken. The tortoise was cooked and eaten immediately, but Ndekai's wife would have no part of the flesh. She told me that if she partook of any of this tortoise she would have a miscarriage—that she would 'drop' her child in the same manner as the tortoise had 'dropped' its eggs."

1: Holmberg--66-67 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono-1-2
116, 159, 177, 828, 843

"The Siriono also recognize that under extreme conditions of fright miscarriages are more likely [67] to occur. One interesting instance of this kind, although it was not observed by me, came to my attention while I was living in Tibaera. Sometime in 1938 one of the amphibian planes of Lloyd Aéreo Boliviano, the Bolivian national airline, got lost in a storm between Cochabamba and Trinidad and for lack of gas was forced to land on an uncharted lake in the Siriono country. It so happened that Erésa-eánta (Strong-eyes), his five wives, and their children were camped on this lake at the time, hunting, fishing, and tending a small garden plot which he cultivated there. It was probably the first time that an unacculturated Siriono had ever seen an airplane; in any event, Erésa-eánta and his family were unacquainted with such a phenomenon.

As Erésa-eánta described the event to me, he was returning from the hunt late one afternoon to his house, which was situated near the shores of the lake, when he heard a buzzing sound some distance away. As it became louder he got frightened and hurried on to the house. When he arrived there, he saw a huge ngidadíša (harpy eagle, his term for the plane) swooping down on the lake. When it had settled, people got out of its 'stomach.' He and his family were immediately seized with terrific fright and took to the bush, carrying with them nothing but their hammocks and fire. Upon arriving at a water hole some distance away, they were overcome by darkness and were forced to camp for the night. Sometime during the night, one of his wives who was pregnant—Kiré was her name, and she verified the story—had a miscarriage, 'because she had

great fear.' The remains of this abnormal birth were thrown away into the bush. On the following day Erésa-eánta's wives proceeded to another camp, while he cautiously approached the lake again to pick up some of the supplies left there. Upon arriving, he found that 'ngidadísa' was still there, and he watched it for some time while hidden in the brush near the shore. Before noon of the same day the 'father' of the 'ngidadísa' i.e., a larger plane, flew over the spot but left immediately. Erésa-eánta remained concealed in the brush. Later in the afternoon a 'brother' of the first 'ngidadísa,' i.e., a plane like it, circled overhead and landed near it. This also had people in its 'belly.' After the people conversed for some time, both of the planes went off together, and he never saw them again. He said that he returned to his family the same afternoon, but that he did not come back to the lake for a long time afterward. More than 3 years later I had the good fortune to spend considerable time with one of the worried passengers of that plane, Señor Medardo Solares A., who substantially confirmed the events as recounted to me by Erésa-eánta."